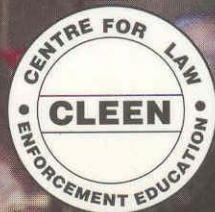


# JOURNEY TO CIVIL RULE

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*A REPORT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL  
PRIMARIES OF  
THE ALL PEOPLES' PARTY (APP)  
AND PEOPLES' DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)  
FEBRUARY 13 - 15, 1999*

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**Centre for Law Enforcement Education**

# **JOURNEY TO CIVIL RULE**

## **A REPORT ON PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES OF THE ALL PEOPLES' PARTY (APP) AND PEOPLES' DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)**

**FEBRUARY 13-15, 1999**

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Published by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN)  
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First Published in 1999 by:

Centre for Law Enforcement Education  
1 Afolabi Aina Street  
Off Allen Avenue  
P.O. Box 15456, Ikeja  
Lagos Nigeria

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## INTRODUCTION

Between February 13 and 15, 1999, two of three registered political parties in Nigeria - the All Peoples Party (APP) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)- held their national conventions. The conventions or primaries, as they are sometimes called, were organised to elect presidential candidates of the two parties for the February 27, 1999, Presidential elections. The third of the officially recognised parties - Alliance for Democracy (AD) - did not organise a presidential convention, but instead opted for an arrangement through which the 'elders' of the party sat in secrecy and 'elected' a presidential candidate for the party, Chief Olu Falae. This report therefore does not include AD's "presidential primaries". But it notes that the party later aligned with the APP in the presentation of Chief Olu Falae as their joint presidential candidate for the elections. The Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) observed the Conventions of the two parties in Kaduna and Jos, as part of its programme to monitor electoral violence in the transition programme of the General Abdulsalami Abubakar-led military government. That exercise was a continuation of the necessary build-up to observing the presidential elections of February 27, 1999, under the auspices of the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG).

The need to observe the primaries became all the more compelling considering the fact that the developments which gave the military the excuse to extend, scuttle or impose itself as the sole candidate in the previous transition to civil rule programmes of Generals Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha, had occurred during presidential primaries of 1992 and 1997. Observing the two conventions also provided an opportunity to study the workings of the electoral system and the abilities of the political parties to organise free and fair party elections independently, and to make recommendations to guide future primaries in the post-military era. CLEEN's observers paid more attention to the preparations of the parties before the conventions, the cases of violence and intimidation in the build-up to the conventions (and how they were handled), the number of law enforcement officials deployed to the conventions and their involvement in prevention and control of violence, the influence of money in the choice of candidates, the method of ballot adopted by the parties, the accreditation of delegates, the treatment of observers and Journalists, the time given to the aspirants to address the delegates, the attitude of defeated aspirants to the voting process and lastly, to cases of interference by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) or the military government in the

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voting process. Evaluating all these benchmarks, we believe, would give a fair indication of whether the party conventions were organised in a free and fair atmosphere.

However, we would like to stress that we did not attempt to carry out a comprehensive assessment of the parties' conventions, as this would: obviously involve placing the conventions within the larger political framework of a transition programme which had been conceived and was being midwived by a military government. -

CLEEN is grateful to Austin Agbonsuremi, Bashir Adigun and Benjamin Ekpeyong for being part of our observer mission to the conventions, to Ayo Obe and Eziuche Ubani, for editing the draft. We also thank Democracy and Governance Program of the **United States information Service (USIS)**, Lagos, for supporting our observer mission to Jos and Kaduna and the publication of this report. CLEEN is member of the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), a coalition of human rights and civic organisations in Nigeria.

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## **SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS/ RECOMMENDATIONS**

Compared to the presidential primaries held during the military administrations of Generals Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha, where parties' elections were either organised by government appointed caretaker committees or supervised by government functionaries, then conventions of the APP and PDP could be said to be more acceptable. This is because the parties were reasonably independent in organising their activities without any overt government interference. It is, therefore, to be hoped that they could learn from their mistakes. However, the conduct of the primaries, especially that of the APP, left much to be desired. They manifested several features which render them unsuitable for free and fair elections and, indeed, raised questions about the readiness of the Nigerian political class to learn from past experience.

### **Vote Buying**

There were cases of blatant use of money to influence the outcome of the primaries. Virtually all the presidential aspirants, especially those in the PDP fold, offered sums of money, ranging from N5, 000 to N50,000 to delegates for their votes, delegates had a field day collecting from every candidate, although quite clearly, they could not vote for all of them. Even the party leaders were not left out in the bribery scandals as one of them reported that he was offered a cheque of N30,000,000 by one of the presidential hopefuls on the platform of APP. Though the aspirant in question denied the allegation, the openly partisan behaviour of some of the party executives suggest that they were induced to favour some of the aspirants.

The national leadership of the parties, which organised the conventions, made no accommodation or feeding arrangements for their delegates, which left them at the mercy of rich aspirants. They were thus induced to vote for aspirants who provided for their welfare during the conventions. One of the PDP delegates from Kwara State told CLEEN that in principle, he would not like to vote for any person with a military background, whether serving or retired. However, since one of the aspirants paid for his transportation to Jos, accommodated and made feeding arrangement for him, he would vote for the aspirant.

### **Lack of Issue-based Campaign**

The conventions lacked issue-oriented contest. The aspirants (especially of the PDP) did not help matters, as their campaigns were full of bitterness, tension, anxiety, threats and intimidation. In the five minutes given to them to address the conventions, they showed no appreciation of the problems facing Nigeria. A few of them made wild promises to

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improve the economy and better the lot of all Nigerians in record time if elected, but did not provide details of any policy options they intended to adopt to pursue in fulfilling their promises.

### **Absence of Convention Guidelines**

Only the PDP made even any attempt at publishing guidelines on the conduct of their presidential convention. As a result, it was difficult for the aspirants and delegates to know who was qualified to contest or not, the nomination procedure, who was to sit on the electoral panel, how much time, would be allowed for accreditation and other such important details. The APP convention was particularly rowdy as many of the delegates were left in the dark as to the procedure the National Executive Council of the party was following during primaries, if indeed, there was any.

### **Violence**

Contrary to many predictions, the conventions ended without any major politically motivated cases of violence by either the aspirants, their supporters or law enforcement agencies, deployed to enforce law and order during the conventions. However, the conventions were heavily policed with over a thousand security agents, made up of regular and anti-riot policemen, deployed to forestall any trouble. To this number, numerous plain-clothes operatives, voluntary civil defense groups and fire service personnel should be added. This gave the feeling that the party primaries were war contests instead of democratic procedures for selecting representatives of the parties for the presidential elections.

### **Intimidation by Candidates**

Some aspirants used subtle methods of harassment and intimidation to ensure that delegates voted for them. One campaign implied that unless delegates voted for aspirants whom the military would support, the election would be annulled like the June 12, 1993 presidential elections. These kind of subtle messages, especially from the PDP fold, frightened some of the delegates as they had all been already elected to various political offices, such as local council chairpersons and members of the states' assemblies, and therefore would not want their own elections annulled. The decision to give hotel accommodation to only those who would vote for particular aspirants was also a form of intimidation given that if any delegate wanted to be given accommodation, he or she must pledge allegiance to the paying aspirants.

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## **Accreditation**

The accreditation process left much to be desired. Given the thousands of delegates, who had to be accredited for the conventions, it was expected that the parties would start their accreditation in the evening of February 12, the official arrival date, in order to finish on time. That did not happen. The accreditation of PDP delegates started in the afternoon of February 13 and continued throughout the night till the evening of the 14th. For the APP, there was no accreditation at all. Members of the party kept loitering around the lobbies of the Hamdala Hotel and other major hotels in Kaduna, without any clue about what was going on. Even the leadership, depending on whom one met, had different information on when accreditation was going to commence and where.

## **Voting Procedure**

Only the PDP had an open and reasonably transparent voting procedure acceptable to all its members, though it was cumbersome, as delegates had to file out state by state under a modified open-secret ballot system. Although, this contributed to the ultimate peaceful conduct of the PDP convention, the voting, which involved lining up state by state, and the sorting and counting process brought out the tedious, cumbersome and time consuming features of the voting system which is a variant of the "Option A4" system first used during the Babangida regime. Under this arrangement, it was required that the votes be sorted and counted, candidate after candidate, to the hearing of all present. This led the party to spend over 24 hours in the voting, sorting and counting process.

For the APP, major decisions as to who would be the presidential candidate of the party were taken without the knowledge of the majority of the delegates who had travelled to Kaduna for the convention. Delegates were only given an hour to ratify the candidature of a person selected by the National Executive Council of the party which had itself voted on three names short-listed by the party's screening committee.

Comparatively, the PDP convention was better organised than that of the APP. The voting process was transparently done, which must have encouraged the defeated aspirants, including Dr. Alex Ekwueme, whom many thought would defect to the APP if he lost, to accept the outcome. The influence of money could, however, not be ruled out as the party paraded a lot of retired army generals who made no secret their intention to influence the convention with their huge resources.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

All considered, the ability of the parties to organise their conventions and produce the candidates for the presidential elections without any overt government interference has moved the process of military disengagement a major step forward, when compared to previous attempts in the last 15 years. Nevertheless, it cannot justify the blatant irregularities that pervaded the conventions of the two parties, especially the All Peoples Party, not to talk of the AD, which held no convention at all! The following recommendations are, therefore, proffered as ways of improving the situation:

- The incoming parliament and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) need to enact laws and regulations limiting the amount of money individuals and groups can donate to candidates and their campaign organisations during elections, to minimize the overwhelming influence of money and the politics around it.
- Political parties should make adequate arrangements for the transportation, feeding and accommodation of their delegates during conventions, to prevent a situation where aspirants provide such services to delegates as bait for securing their votes.
- Individuals and groups willing and capable should be allowed to form their own parties and to articulate their own yearnings and aspirations in the form of programmes on the basis of which they will contest for public offices in the country. The present rigid process of registration of political parties prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), encourages the coming together of strange bedfellows because they need to satisfy INEC guidelines and not necessarily because of principles or agreement on policies and programmes.
- The political parties need to re-organise their leadership by bringing in those who are ready to serve the parties, rather than those who use the party platform for the achievement of their selfish interests.

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- The political parties should publish and circulate guidelines on the conduct of their presidential primaries well ahead of time to prevent a situation where delegates and some party officials do not know what is going on. Such guidelines should detail who is qualified to contest, the nomination procedure, who sits on the electoral panel, and time for accreditation etc.
  - In future, political aspirants should regulate the content of what their supporters publish to prevent a re-enactment of the ugly incidents at the conventions, where the aspirants and their supporters degenerated to attacking the personalities of one another, instead of addressing the Nigerian people on the policies which they would pursue if elected.
  - Law enforcement agencies should be properly trained as to electoral laws before they are posted on election duties in order to prevent them from being used by political aspirants to carry out personal vendettas or intimidate the supporters of their opponents:

## CHAPTER ONE

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### ACCREDITATION OF DELEGATE

Only the PDP could be said to have carried out a proper accreditation of its delegates during the party conventions, even though it was cumbersome and excessively delayed, leaving the delegates very tired and weary. None of the parties had clearly articulated accreditation procedures before the conventions, which was a departure from the Babangida transition where the two governments established parties (Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention) had lists of names of all would-be delegates compiled into registers.

Before the conventions, there was a lot of debate on what mode of primary elections would be adopted by the parties, which would inform accreditation procedure. The PDP initially adopted direct election. This would have ensured the participation of 17,000 delegates from the 36 states and Abuja. But the party later opted for indirect primaries, when it was realised that facilities at the venue of the convention could not possibly accommodate such a number. APP on the hand could not agree on any criteria. This lack of agreement later led to acrimony following the decision to exclude some aspirants from the convention on the bases of a zoning formula that was unacceptable to all the presidential aspirants. This led to a situation where all the aspirants mobilized as many supporters as they could and headed for Kaduna, in the hope of fighting it out on the floor of the convention.

Under the PDP guidelines, all elected local government chairpersons/vice chairpersons; state legislators and governors-elect under the party

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<sup>1</sup> Chima Ubani & Emmanuel Edigheji, "A Report on SPD, NRC National Conventions (March 27-29, 1993), Civil Liberties Organisation, Lagos, 1993, P.5.



were qualified as delegates to be accredited for the convention. The party chairpersons/vice chairpersons/secretaries at the local and state levels, as well as the party's National Executive Council were also automatic delegates for the convention. The accreditation involved two distinct but combined stages: "Pre-accreditation" and Accreditation Proper.

At the pre-accreditation stage, elected party leaders in the states were required to assist party functionaries handling accreditation by identifying delegates from their respective states, tick off their names on the delegates list, issue each delegate so identified with a laminated accreditation card bearing his or her name. This phase of the accreditation was supposed to start by 10.00am on Saturday, February 13, 1999, but did not really get off the ground until the following day.



Explaining the cause of the delay to newsmen, a member of the National Executive Committee of the party, Professor Jerry Gana, said that the accreditation of delegates could not take place at the scheduled time, because the convention committee needed time to harmonise names of delegates of each state.<sup>2</sup> Not a few people believed that the slow pace of the convention was a ploy by PDP to know the outcome of the APP convention slated around the same period.

The final stage of accreditation involved cross-checking the identities of the delegates by personnel of the National Executive Committee at the gate of the convention venue, using the same delegates' lists as those used in the pre-accreditation stage. This was conducted at the Jos

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<sup>2</sup> Akpo Esajere et al., "Delayed Voting, Suspense Mark PDP Convention", Guardian Newspapers, Lagos, February 15, 1999, p.1.

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Township Stadium, the venue of the PDP convention. Delegates from all the states lined up in alphabetical order and were allowed into the venue, state by state, through a heavily policed entrance. Accreditation could not be concluded until the evening of Sunday, February 14, 1999. Some of the PDP delegates who spoke to CLEEN complained that their party leaders abandoned them and went to attend the several caucus meetings being held in different hotels in Jos,

Even then, accreditation of journalists and local observers was more difficult. Only about a hundred journalists were accredited. The inability of the party to accredit all the journalists who attended the convention led to squabbles at the entrance. Some journalists who got accredited had to pass their badges to their friends and colleagues who had not secured accreditation. This was made possible by the fact that the accreditation badges for the delegates, journalists and observers had no pictures with which their true owners could be identified.

For the local observers, the PDP seemed to have made no provision for their accreditation at all. The initial response of the officials was to keep referring local observers from one official to another. Later on when they could not find any badges made for them, local observers were issued badges bearing the inscription, 'International Observer',

**NUMBER OF PDP DELEGATES FROM EACH STATE**

No.	States	Number of Delegates
1.	Abia	69
2.	Adamawa	79
3.	Akwa Ibom	95

No.	States	Number of Delegates
4.	Anambra	90
5.	Bauchi	82
6.	Bayelsa	39
7.	Benue	76
8.	Borno	70
9.	Cross River	53
10.	Delta	92
11.	Ebonyi	51
12.	Edo	78
13.	Ekiti	26
14.	Enugu	70
15.	Gombe	40
16.	Jigawa	82
17.	Kaduna	91
18.	Kano	163
19.	Katsina	126
20.	Kebbi	67
21.	Kogi	64
22.	Kwara	30
23.	Lagos	26
24.	Nassarawa	58
25.	Niger	107
26.	Ogun	31

No.	States	Number of Delegates
27.	Ondo	31
28.	Osun	47
29.	Oyo	57
30.	Plateau	75
31.	Rivers	87
32.	Sokoto	70
33.	Taraba	61
34.	Yobe	52
35.	Zamfara	37
36.	FCT	20

## CHAPTER TWO

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### ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGN

Reminiscent of the high profile campaigns which culminated in the June 12, 1993 presidential elections, the electioneering campaigns of aspirants at the presidential conventions of the PDP and APP were colorful, intense, and sometimes emotional and openly acrimonious. They were also characterised by absence of issues and domineering influence of money.

#### **Lack of Issue-Based Campaign**

The belief of the presidential aspirants of the two parties that they could emerge as the flag-bearers of their parties in the presidential elections of February 27, 1999, through caucusing, and running down the credibility of their opponents, rather than addressing the problems facing the nation and outlining their policies to tackle them, encouraged a situation where their campaigns lacked any issue orientation. This was more prevalent among the two most prominent aspirants on the platform of the PDP - Dr. Alex Ekwueme and General Olusegun Obasanjo.

The rivalry between the two aspirants was so intense and sometimes descended to the level of personal attack. Consider the following excerpts from an advertisement placed by the Ekwueme camp. Titled "Open Letter to the Desperadoes", the advert read:

"If we must be challenged, we must go to town with the raw details of how Nigerians were carted away into detention in a crocodile infested island; OFN, Operation Fool the Nation and how the public service of Nigeria was vandalized to such an extent in the seventies that it has never recovered from the trauma. . ."

It went on and on in the same vein. Yet that camp was not alone in the smear campaign. The Obasanjo camp fired back:

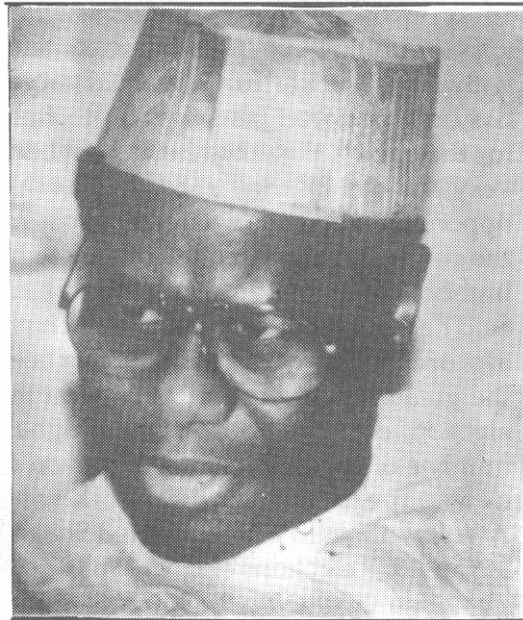
"Who shall we choose? The one they said will do what he says? Yet all he said at the Constitutional Conference was towards dividing and breaking up Nigeria... PDP delegates, make your choice wisely. Let's not allow him to do 'what he says'. Vote for Obasanjo."

Before voting commenced, each of the aspirants cleared to contest under the PDP platform, was given five minutes to address the delegates. This

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was certainly too short a time for the candidates to articulate whatever programme they may have had. Candidates who came with prepared



speeches as well as those who spoke ex tempore found the five minutes too short for any meaningful communication with the delegates.

For Obasanjo and Ekwueme, the occasion was an opportunity to down play the antagonism and animosity that had raged between them in the various advertisements published in the newspapers. After enumerating his qualifications, Dr. Ekwueme urged the delegates to vote to make Nigeria great. He posited that the delegates have the last opportunity to free themselves from servitude especially since the voting was by secret ballot. In his words: "It is your last opportunity to free your selves from servitude. If you go to the booth, vote to make Nigeria great. Whatever the inducement, don't mortgage the future of your children and your children's children. Vote rightly."

In his speech, Obasanjo said that he sought the delegates' votes because of common interest, concern and love, promising to give a "tried, tested and committed leadership." His words: "I come before you humbly



and honestly to seek your vote, your support and your cooperation because we have a common interest, common concern and common love. Things are not what they should be." Fifty-something year-old Chief Jim Nwobodo said that what the country needed now was a young man. He argued that young men are in power in Britain, France etc., adding that he had the qualifications to rule the country. "I was a successful governor, I was a successful minister. I am the president of the youth and the growing people of this country," he said.

Chief Don Etiebet and Alabo Tonye Graham-Douglas used the occasion of their speeches to underline the pain and expectation of the people of the south-south zone of the country, and to call attention to their view that if talk about fairness, equity and justice was to be meaningful, the PDP convention ought to demonstrate it by giving the party's presidential ticket to either of them. "The south-west has ruled two times, south-

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east has also ruled twice, south-south should have it now. So, elect me as the president," Etiebet said. Graham-Douglas said he was "the bridge Nigeria has been waiting for and the new wine in the new bottle."

However, of the seven PDP aspirants that spoke before the voting, only Chief Philip Asiodu, made any attempt at addressing any concrete policy issues he hoped to pursue if voted in. To many observers at the convention, he discharged himself efficiently in terms of eloquence, maturity and firm grasp of issues of development that are currently relevant to Nigeria.<sup>3</sup> Chief Asiodu said the decision of the delegates would either lead to prosperity or disintegration of the nation. He promised to revitalize the refineries and infrastructure, to map out strategies to attract investments and to stop monopolies.

The APP, on the other hand, did not give its aspirants any opportunity to address the delegates publicly before such voting took place. All the delegates had to make up their minds on who to elect (when the opportunity presented itself) were the newspapers adverts of the aspirants and their colourful posters pasted at strategic places in Nigerian cities. None of this presented much in terms of articulation of issues. So any of them who did not have enough money to place advertisements or to print millions of posters and leaflets, lost the last chance to present themselves to the delegates when they were denied the opportunity of addressing them during the convention.

### **Money Politics**

It is a truism all over the world that you cannot win any election, especially a presidential election, without spending large sums of money. At the same time, it is a serious legislative issue in democratic countries to minimize the influence of money in elections in order to give citizens the opportunity to truly decide who will govern them. To address this dilemma, electoral laws are put in place to regulate the amount of money an individual or organization can contribute to an electoral campaign. This is the case in the United States and many West European and other countries.

However, in the Nigerian situation, there is no limit to the amount of money an individual can contribute to the campaign fund of aspirants.

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<sup>3</sup> Chukwudi Abiandu et al., *The Guardian*, "Presidential Speech Time at PDP Convention", *Guardian Newspapers*, Lagos, February 16, 1999, p.8.

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Many Nigerians were so scandalized about the amounts of money - described as "mind-boggling" - that were been reported on the pages of newspapers every day as donations given by the aspirants and their supporters, that appeals were sent to the Chairman of INEC, Justice Ephraim Akpata, not to allow the Fourth Republic be put up for sale to the highest bidder. The retired Supreme Court Justice said that there was no law in Nigeria preventing anybody from donating any amount of money to either a candidate or his party, and that therefore; there was nothing he could do about it.

The result was a situation where all the delegates to the conventions of the two political parties became - in the popular parlance of Nigerian politics - "beautiful brides" courted by the aspirants with all kinds of perks, ranging from hard cash, transportation and accommodation, to feeding throughout the convention, in return for their votes.

In both PDP and APP conventions, money played a prominent role in positioning the aspirants, and to a large extent, determined the outcome of their presidential primaries. This was more the case with PDP. Many delegates who pleaded anonymity confessed that most of the aspirants offered them various sums of money to sway them to vote for them. The offers were usually made to delegates as contingents from specific states and sometimes as individuals. In some cases, the candidates made the cash offers through intermediaries working for the candidates and in others themselves.

In the case of PDP, it was reported, although he later denied it, that the former military ruler, General Ibrahim Babangida, led a battery of retired army generals to Jos, the venue of the PDP convention, to support the candidature of Obasanjo.<sup>4</sup> He was said to have flown in helicopters full of money to pay whatever, it cost for General Obasanjo to emerge as the candidate of the PDP. However, Babangida later denied in a newspaper interview that he was ever in Jos. He boasted that he did not need to be in Jos to influence the primaries. His words: " You people ought to admit by now that I am smarter than the way you insist on looking at me."~ However, not many people believed him.

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<sup>4</sup> Yusuf Olaniyonu et al., "Drama, Intrigues as PDP Votes Today, This Day Newspapers, Lagos, February 14, 1999, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Akpo Esajere, "Babangida Denies Attending PDP Primaries," Guardian Newspapers, Lagos, February 15, 1999, p. 2

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Dr. Kingsley Ebeyi, a delegate from Enugu State, who spoke to CLEEN during the PDP convention on tape, reported that the aspirants were offering between N10,000 to N50,000 per delegate to ensure their votes. In his words:

“Normally, many of them [presidential aspirants] have been coming to us. Almost all aspirants have come to us, giving money. The amount ranges from N5,000 to N50,000. We do not go about looking for them, they come to us.”

In the same vein, a report in *The Guardian* alleged that a presidential aspirant of the PDP sent a package of N50, 000 to each delegate from some of states in the South-South whose votes were considered critical, while contacts of other frontline contestants arrived with their own bags.<sup>6</sup> The report further captured the festive mood and the influence of money in the PDP convention when it concluded thus:

"You could not see the money going round. But the frenzy of movements from one hotel room to another and the meetings .. that were said to be going on were obvious indications that money was changing hands."<sup>7</sup>

The APP convention was not left out of the influence of money politics. A major stir was caused during its convention in Kaduna, when the chairman of the party, Senator Mahmud Waziri alleged that one of the presidential aspirants of the party, Dr. Olusola Saraki, had sent him a N30,000,000.00 bank draft to persuade him allow him to contest after the party had zoned its presidential candidacy to the South. Addressing the party's National Executive Council (NEC) meeting in Kaduna on February 14, Waziri recalled event~ leading to the alleged bribe saying:

"I am aware members of the NEC are aware of the circumstances that led to the suspension horn the party of some leaders. One of the leaders in question attempted to compromise my authority as your chairman by sending me his emissary with a bank draft of N30, 000,000. Needles~ to say, this conduct is unethical and downright condemnable. I thought at this stage, I should take. the NEC into confidence over the matter in consultation with the elders of the party."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Akpo Asajere, "Intrigues, Foot-Shuffling drama in Jos," *Guardian Newspapers*, Lagos, February 15, 1999, p.15.

<sup>7</sup>Op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Kunle Sanyaolu et al., "Waziri Alleges N30m Bribe from APP aspirant," *Guardian Newspapers*, Lagos February 15, 1999, p.1

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Waziri later displayed the bank draft issued at the Makera Road, (Kaduna South) Kaduna Branch of the Societe Generale Bank (Nigeria) Limited and dated February 15, 1999.

Dr. Olusola Saraki denied the allegation, saying that Waziri was not speaking the truth. In an interview with *The Guardian*, Dr. Saraki stated that he was not given to bribing anyone. His words: "Please, do you think I am a man to bribe anybody? I think he [Waziri] has not told you the truth. Go back to him and ask him to tell you the truth on what happened."<sup>9</sup> Continuing he stated: " I was actually taken aback when the chairman said a leader wanted to compromise his position. I was shocked to hear that. If it is a cheque issued by Societe Generale Bank he was talking about, then tell him to let you know the truth. Of course, he is not known to be telling the truth. He is fond of not telling the truth all the time, that is his problem."<sup>10</sup>

Almost all the hotels in Jos and Kaduna were fully booked by the presidential aspirants, to accommodate delegates as inducements to secure their votes. In Jos, the Dr. Alex Ekwueme Campaign Organisation reportedly secured a good number of the hotels in the city, both for the use of his supporters and as a pre-emptive move to deny the supporters of other aspirants accommodation. This forced some of the other presidential contestants to take up accommodation in the guesthouses provided by the Plateau State Government or in the private homes of friends. The game plan of the contestants was to isolate delegates who accepted accommodations in the hotels they booked from other aspirants until voting time. It was a strategy used successfully by the late Alhaji Shehu Musa Yar' Adua to influence the election of then Social Democratic Party (SDP) executives in 1991 in Abuja. The aspirants did not stop at providing accommodation for the delegates, they chartered buses that brought them to Jos and Kaduna, and also fed them throughout the conventions: This was necessitated by act that APP and PDP made no provisions for transportation, feeding and accommodation of their delegates during the conventions. They were, therefore, left at the mercy of the aspirants who used such inducements to get their votes. A PDP delegate from Kwara State told CLEEN that ordinarily he would not like to vote for any person with military background, whether serving or retired. But because the agents of one of PDP aspirants with a military background had paid for his transportation, feeding and accommodation in Jos, he had no choice than to vote for him.

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<sup>9</sup> Saxone Akhaine, "Saraki Derides Waziri's Claim of N30,000,000 bribe," *Guardian Newspapers*, Lagos, February 16, 1999, p.1.

<sup>10</sup> Lawson Heyford "Bomb at PDP Zonal Primaries," *The Source magazine*, Lagos, February 15, 1999. p.22 OP. cit

## CHAPTER THREE

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### VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

In the build up to the presidential conventions of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Peoples Party (APP), not a few people expressed fears about the safety of delegates to the convention and other stakeholders participating in the process. Many indicators suggested that there would be a free-for-all fight among the major contenders for the parties' presidential tickets. These ranged from bitter newspaper campaigns that preceded the primaries, violent confrontations by supporters of various candidates, the explosion of a petrol bomb at the venue of south-south zonal primaries for the election and possible presentation of a single aspirant from the zone for the PDP's presidential flag-bearer, to the warning by the Federal Military Government against threats to pullout of the transition programme by the APP and the Alliance for Democracy, if their efforts to present a joint candidate for the presidential election were refused by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

The first sign of what was to be expected at the convention took place in Lagos on January 27, 1999 when a fight broke out at the Ikeja, Lagos State Secretariat of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), between the supporters of the party's frontline aspirants - General Olusegun Obasanjo and Dr. Alex Ekwueme. The fracas went on for over two hours with supporters of both aspirants using dangerous weapons and causing serious injuries to each other. Ekwueme's supporters moved a motion for a vote of no confidence in the State's PDP Executive Council following what they considered to be the abysmal performance of the party in the December 5 local government elections in Lagos State. They also accused the executive members of financial impropriety and trying to manipulate the state primaries in favour of General Obasanjo.<sup>11</sup>

In a similar vein, all hell was let loose on February, 1999, at the Civic Centre, Port Harcourt, venue of the South-south zonal primaries for the election of a sole candidate to represent the zone during the PDP presidential convention. Delegates from the six states comprising the zone: Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers States, had gathered at the venue of the conference as early as 8.00 a.m. on the scheduled date. Three out of the five presidential hopefuls from the zone were absent and questioned the legality of such a gathering, describing it as a mockery of the party's constitution. According to them,

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<sup>11</sup> This Day Newspapers. January 30. 1999, p.3



since the PDP's constitution made no provision for zonal primaries, the meeting arranged for such zonal primaries to take place for the purpose of presenting a common presidential candidate from the zone was uncalled for, illegal and unconstitutional.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the reservations of the three aspirants, which were supported by Chief Marshall Harry, the Rivers State chairman of the party, the two other aspirants from the zone, Chiefs Don Etiebet and Graham-Douglas, decided to go ahead with the zonal primaries. But after votes had been cast by Akwa Ibom State's delegates, confusion set in. The sequence of calling the delegates one after another was no longer followed: people, many of whom were strangers to party members, filled the voting area and ballot papers were being hurled around freely. This was the situation until the end of the exercise. At about 8.00 p.m. counting of votes started and continued until about 10.30 p.m. when petrol bombs were hurled into the counting venue from various directions, causing explosions. There was pandemonium and panic as

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<sup>12</sup> Lawson Heyford, "Bomb at PDP Zonal Primaries," The Source magazine, Lagos, February 15, 1999, p.22.

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people abandoned the votes and their belongings and ran for their lives. Many people sustained injuries.

Against the backdrop of the foregoing, many observers who attended the presidential conventions of the two parties considered extra measures for their protection. But, contrary to book makers predictions, the conventions ended without any major politically motivated cases of violence by either the aspirant, their supporters or law enforcement agencies deployed to the conventions.

However, the conventions were heavily policed with over a thousand policemen, made up of regular and anti-riot policemen, ostensibly to forestall any trouble. To this number should be added numerous plain-clothes operatives, voluntary civil defense groups and fire service personnel. This created a siege atmosphere, and gave the feeling that the party primaries were war contests instead of democratic procedures for selecting representatives of the parties for the presidential elections.

In the case of the PDP, the first thing that challenged CLEEN observers on approaching the main gate of the Jos Township Stadium, the venue of the convention, was the imposing presence of armored hot water tank, mounted in front of the stadium and surrounded by mobile policemen dressed in full battle gear.

CLEEN sought the opinion of some of the delegates about the presence of such large numbers of policemen and armoured hot water tank at an event that was supposed to usher in democracy. Many of them saw the presence of the security men and armoured tanks as measures put in place by the party leadership for their security and welcomed it. On the likely impact of such a militarized setting during voting, one delegate responded:

"What is it that Nigerian people have not seen or passed through in the last fifteen years of military rule? If surrounding us with armoured tank is what it takes for the military to hand over to an elected civilian government, I have no problem with it."

Meanwhile, some mobile policemen positioned outside the stadium to control crowd movement were reported to have brutalised food vendors who mounted their wares around the stadium. Journalist who attempted

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to take photographs of the police whipping the food vendors also fell victim and their cameras were almost taken away from them. A case in point was George Esiri who covered the convention for Reuters. Even other traders who displayed their goods close to the stadium were not spared as the policemen had a field day destroying their merchandise and beating them after they had reportedly paid N500 each to some local government officials.

Similar reports from Ranchers Bees Stadium, Kaduna, the venue of the APP's convention, had it that there were no major cases of electoral violence, contrary to expectations. However, there were reports of police flogging supporters of some of the aspirants, especially those of Dr. Olusola Saraki, a frontline aspirant of the party who was disqualified from contesting the primaries as the party was said to have zoned the presidential slot to the south. They protested what they termed the "victimisation" of their leader after the party had collected a non-refundable fee of N2.5 million from him for the presidential nomination form of the party.

Beyond these isolated cases of violence and the intimidating presence of law enforcement officials during the parties' conventions, there were other subtle methods of harassment and intimidation used by some of the aspirants and their agents to ensure that delegates voted for them. These included the threats that unless delegates voted for aspirants to whom the military would be comfortable to hand over; the election would be annulled like the June 12, 1993, presidential elections. Supporters of Obasanjo, who eventually emerged as the PDP presidential candidate, boasted of his military connections and the fact that he enjoyed wide respect from soldiers. This intimidating campaign had an impact on some of the delegates as many of them had already been elected to various political positions, such local council chairpersons, and members of the states' assemblies. They would not want their elections annulled as might happen if the wrong presidential candidate emerged! It will be recalled that one of the excuses given by General Babangida for the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential elections in Nigeria, of which Chief Moshood Abiola was the undeclared winner, was that he was not acceptable to the military.

Dr. Alex Ekwueme and his supporters on the other hand, played the politics of hoarding accommodation. which prevented many delegates 25 with sympathies for other aspirants from having places to lay their heads. All the major hotels in the cities were fully booked by people said to be supportive of Ekwueme's aspiration, mostly his kinsmen. This forced the other aspirants and their supporters to seek accommodation from the guest houses provided by the Plateau State Government and other private residential houses. Those who could not be quartered in Jos were moved to the neighbouring states of Bauchi, Niger and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The strategy behind booking all the major hotels had been to secure bait with which to lure delegates to vote for their candidate.

## CHAPTER FOUR

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### VOTING PROCEDURE

The All Peoples Party (APP) and Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) adopted different modes of elections for the emergence of their presidential flag-bearers. Whereas PDP adopted a secret ballot system involving the 2,552 delegates that were accredited for its convention APP settled for an indirect election involving some members of its National Executive Council (NEC) which constituted itself into an electoral college, for the purpose of electing its presidential candidate who was later presented to the party's convention for adoption.

Before the beginning of voting during the PDP convention, the chairman of the party, Chief Solomon Lar, made a firm promise to his party members that the primaries would not only be fair but would be seen to be fair. Apart from deliberate delays employed by the party before the commencement of voting, this promise was followed to a large extent. Four days to the convention, the party released its guidelines for the presidential primaries, which stated the criteria for qualifying to contest the presidential primaries. It also established a presidential electoral panel, laid down the time for accrediting delegates and the total number of votes an aspirant must score to emerge as the party's flag-bearer.<sup>13</sup>

For an aspirant to qualify to contest the person must have paid the N2.5m non-refundable fee for the presidential nomination form and the N2 million levies imposed on all the presidential aspirants by the party. In addition, each aspirant must be nominated in writing by 60 persons spread in at least two-thirds of all the states within Nigeria, whose names must appear in the register of voters in their respective wards. The guidelines further provided that an aspirant who had been adjudged guilty of treason or treasonable felony, by any court or tribunal in Nigeria, indicted for embezzlement of public funds, bribery or fraud by either judicial commission of inquiry or a tribunal or any lawful authority, would not be eligible to contest.

Some of the other provisions of the guidelines:

- A presidential electoral panel, headed by Alhaji Yahaya Abdulkarim and comprising one member each from the six geo-political zones of the country;

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<sup>13</sup> This Day Newspapers, February 9, 1999, p.1

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- Presidential aspirants must score 50% and above of the total votes cast during the convention to be declared the winner;
  - In the event that no aspirant scored up to 50% of the votes in the first ballot, there would be a run-off election;
  - The aspirant who scored a simple majority of the votes in the run-off would be declared the winner. During voting and throughout out the period of the convention, PDP delegates from each state of the federation were kept in separate pavilions in the Jos Stadium, removed from the crowd of party chieftains, contestants, canvassers and "mobilizes". For voting, 27 transparent (glass) ballot boxes were provided. There were also 20 polling booths for delegates to thumbprint ballot papers in secret. Twenty of the ballot boxes were for delegates voting while the remaining seven were labeled



with the surname of each of the seven contestants. Delegates became the centre of attraction, when voting started on a state-by-state basis. Delegates from Abia State were the first to cast their votes, being the first in the alphabetical order adopted by convention organizing committee.

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The voting started at about, 10.30 p.m. on February 14 and continued until 5.05 a.m., February 15. The sorting took another three hours to complete, by which time it was 8.30 a.m. This was conducted by a nine-man electoral panel headed by Alhaji S.B. Makama. With the possible exception of Senator Francis Ellah, all other PDP presidential aspirants went through the night in various stages of exhaustion, until 10.10 a.m. when the results were announced. Because the sorting and counting of votes were done in the state box of the Jos Township Stadium, in front of the aspirants, they saw everything. For some of them, it was obviously a tortuous experience revealing the cumbersome nature of the open-secret ballot system.

Before the results were announced, Chief Sunday Awoniyi, the convention coordinator, made a short speech in which he reminded the party enthusiasts of an agreement between the aspirants and the chairman of the party to the effect that whatever the outcome of the convention, they would abide by the results. "The aspirants assured him [the chairman] that they would accept a clean election and I think that what we have seen today is one of the cleanest elections that have ever been held in this country" he said.

The result had General Obasanjo, emerging as the party's flag bearer with a total vote of 1,658, which represented 67.97 percent of the 2,470 delegates' votes. Dr. Alex Ekwueme, who scored 521 votes, followed him. The results read alphabetically by the Chief Returning Officer, Alhaji Makama were:

1.	Chief Philip Asiodu	12
2.	Chief Alabo-Graham Douglas	71
3.	Dr. Alex Ekwueme	521
4.	Chief Francis Ellah	12
5.	Chief Don Etiebet	106
6.	Chief Jim Nwobodo	59
7.	General Olusegun Obasanjo	1658

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As soon as the election results were read all the other aspirants conceded victory to General Obasanjo, and expressed satisfaction with the conduct of the party's presidential convention. In his congratulatory message to General Obasanjo, Dr. Alex Ekwueme, about whom many predictions had been made as to his likely reaction to defeat, thanked the party members for going through a stretch of more than 24 hours, some without food and shelter. His words:

"It gives me comfort because some of us who insisted on this system, people thought perhaps we are creating unnecessary difficulties. But unless you have a fair and transparent system for nominations, you are bound to create bad blood, which if not properly checked may destroy the party."

Dr. Ekwueme urged all party members to work together to make sure that the party succeeded.

The APP, unlike the PDP, opted for an indirect primary election, a procedure which did not go down well with all the members. The party set up a five-man screening committee, headed by Chief Silas Daniyan to clear the aspirants that would be presented to the convention. The criteria used in screening the aspirant were not made known to the public. However, inside sources informed CLEEN's observers at the convention venue in Kaduna that one of the calculations was that the aspirants who would pass the screening must have formally pledged their readiness to promote cooperation with the Alliance for Democracy and work towards its success. So, all that was required was to pick someone who would be most willing to abide by the decisions taken in consequence of the alliance. In essence, this meant that any aspirant who was not prepared to step down for the AD's candidate would automatically be disqualified and many of those who had indicated such "recalcitrance" were indeed disqualified.

By the time the committee ended its sitting in the night of February 14, 1999 only three candidates out of the seven who had jostled for nomination got the screening committee's bill of health and had their names forwarded to the party's National Executive Council (NEC). They were Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, Chief Harry Akande and Dr. Ogbonnaya Onu. The NEC met and voted in favour of Dr. Ogbonnaya Onu as the party's flag-bearer. He scored 25 votes against Chiefs Harry Akande's 24 and Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu's 15. Speaking to newsmen after the Screening Committee of APP completed its work, the party's Publicity Director, Mr. Obinwa Nnaji said: "When they [the Screening Committee] now sent the names before the house, it was voted upon,

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Ogbonnaya Onu came tops. So, Ogbonnaya Onu's name will be sent to INEC." He also explained that the delegates would send Onu's name to the national convention then taking place at the Ranchers Bees Stadium Kaduna, for what he called ratification. Both Onu, and Akande, who came second on APP's Screening Committee's list, had joined the APP presidential race only four days before the convention.

The remaining aspirants were disqualified. Among the list of the aspirants who maintained distinctly high profile campaign in the bid for the party's presidential slot, was Chief Gamaliel Onosode, a renowned corporate player and chairman of many blue chip companies in Nigeria. Reacting to the news of his disqualification by the party, Chief Onosode wondered what criteria were used to disqualify him from the contest.

In the same vein, a member of the APP's Board of Trustees and strong supporter of Dr. Olusola Saraki's presidential ambition, Alhaji Idi Farouk, warned about the consequences of sidelining Saraki, especially the electoral implications in the February 27 presidential elections.

In spite of the disagreements raised by these aspirants and others, the National Executive Council of APP went ahead to present Ogbonnaya Onu as the 'consensus' candidate of the party for ratification at the convention. Amidst dissent from delegates believed to be loyalists of the disqualified aspirants, the convention ratified Dr. Ogbonnaya Onu as the party's presidential flag-bearer.

The ratification took place within 60 minutes at the convention. But not all the delegates and the disqualified aspirants were happy about the outcome, and certainly no congratulatory message came from any of the other aspirants in sharp contrast to the sportsmanly behaviour of the defeated PDP aspirants led by Chief Alex Ekwueme. Fisticuffs were reported to have actually come in the wake of the Onu's victory. 14 Before then, there had been signs of such developments when one of the aspirants, Dr. Saraki went to court to get a ruling against the controversial gentleman's agreement within the APP to ensure that the south got the presidency.

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However, even the handling of the voting in secrecy by the leadership of the party did not help matters as events later showed. Unlike the PDP convention where guidelines on voting and procedure for determining the winner of the party's presidential ticket, were released in advance, the APP did no such thing. Delegates were left roaming about in the lobbies of most major hotels in Kaduna such as the Hamdala, like sheep without shepherd.

The final event that spoke volumes on the so-called consensus adoption of Dr. Gnu during the convention was his alleged stepping down for Chief Olu Falae to emerge as the joint presidential candidate of APP/AD, an action which Dr. Onu denied. Speaking to journalists on February 16, 1999, after news of his alleged stepping down hit the airwaves, Dr. Onu stated:

"No one contemplated it. I was never approached by anyone and I have not stepped down for any person."

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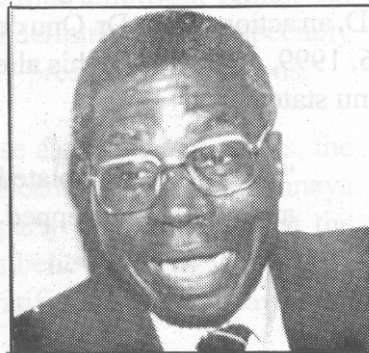
<sup>14</sup> Laide Shokunbi et al., "APP Crisis, Nigeria's Dilemma," Guardian Newspapers, Lagos February 17, 1999, p.15.

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**Appendix:**  
**Profiles of Some of Presidential Aspirants**

1. **Alliance for Democracy**



**Bola Ige**

Bola Ige, 68, a Lawyer, was close follower of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, both in the defunct Action Group (AG) and the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN).. He was Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources, 1967-70, in the then Western State. He later became Commissioner for Lands and Housing in the State from January to May 1970, and was elected Governor of Oyo State, 1979-83.

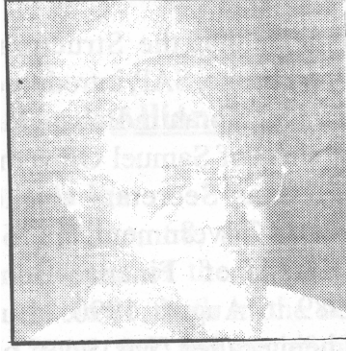
His rising political profile was however, dimmed in 1983 when his bid for re-election as Oyo State Governor was stopped by the defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN), whose candidate, Omololu Olunloyo defeated him. Declining to contest for public office under Babangida or Abacha, Ige adopted an attitude which he described as "Siddon look". Ige is an avowed critic of military rule, although like many people, who now criticize military rule, he had once served in a military government. He fought on the side of pro-democracy activists during the June 12 struggle and has been in the vanguard of battle to return Nigeria to democratic rule. He was once famously described by the then Military Administrator of Oyo State as a "prisoner of war" following his arrest in the wake of the May 1st 1998 anti-Abacha demonstrations in Ibadan. Although like many others in the political grouping known as the Southern Leadership Forum, he was first in the PDP and then in the APP, he eventually became a founding member of the Alliance for Democracy (AD).



**Olu Falae**

Nigerians believe that the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, introduced in 1986 by President Ibrahim Babangida was the brain child of Samuel Oluyemi Falae, 60. He was Secretary to the Federal Military Government, 1986- 1989, and Minister of Finance from December 1989 to August 1990. But Falae detests being called "Mr. SAP" or "apostle of SAP", the nicknames by which he came to be known. He prefers to be called an advocate of structural adjustment, and claims that things fell apart after he left office in 1990. He promised to correct whatever had gone wrong with the implementation of the sound philosophy of the programme if made president of the country.

He joined the presidential race in August 1990 on the platform of the " Social Democratic Party (SDP). He ended as first runner-up in the party primaries that were later cancelled while he and others who had participated up till then were disqualified from further contest under the Babangida transition. He joined forces to fight the annulment of the June 12 election and ended up spending 20 months in detention at the Federal Criminal Investigation Department, FCID Alagbon Close. Since his release in June 1998, Falae remained undaunted both in the battle against military rule and the search for ultimate political power. He emerged as the presidential candidate of the AD after the arcane procedures adopted by that party for the selection of its flag-bearer. He has a track record of service in both the public and private sector as banker, economist, and top-rate technocrat. Chukwuemeka Ezeife Dr. Chukwuemeka Ezeife came to prominence in 1992, when he was elected as governor of the new Anambra State on the platform of the



SDP. Prior to that, he had seen the world from many vantages. He earned his Ph.D. at Harvard University in the United States as a Rockefeller Foundation Scholar. He has been a pupil teacher, a headmaster, a lecturer at Makerere University in Uganda, a teaching fellow at Harvard. He has been a petty trader, a farmer and a businessman. In public service, he rose to the office of Permanent Secretary. In politics, he started with law making at the 1988/89 Constituent Assembly, and became Executive Governor of the new Anambra State in 1992. A strong supporter of the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), he is the author of a book on "Progressivism".

## 1. All Peoples Party



**Edet Amana**

Edet Amana, 60, is a civil engineer, community leader and philanthropist. Since he graduated top of the first class honours list in the early 1960s at Imperial College, London, he has gathered a wide experience in private sector ventures. He left Shell in 1972 to establish Amana Consulting Engineers. Amana has been chairman of many boards and parastatals. He has also given out a number of scholarships to deserving students and contributed financially to the development of his Oron community.

He wants to go beyond business to achieve more in political office. He

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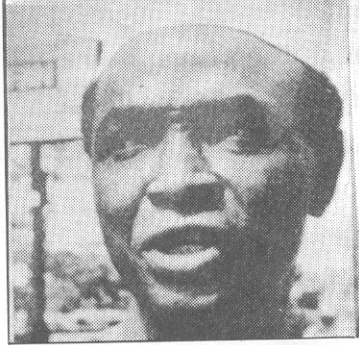
started from the senate under the defunct United Nigeria Congress Party, UNCP. Although he won the Eket senatorial district seat in the 1998 election, the death of Abacha truncated that ambition. Leaving that setback behind him, his ambitions turned to the presidency itself on the platform of the APP, a party which he played a key role to establish.



### **Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu**

Since late Nnamdi Azikiwe set the record, establishing West African Pilot newspaper, only one Igbo man has been able to emulate him with a large degree of success. Emmanuel Chukwumalwuanyanwu, from Atta, Ikeduru, Imo State, established Champion Newspapers Limited which continues to thrive. The civil engineer has done more than that to earn his description as industrialist and philanthropist. His investments to date span construction, banking, air-travel, insurance, shipping and sports.

But he has not been too successful in politics. Although he is a prominent I political figure and godfather to many "new breed" politicians in the east, he has, till date recorded no major electoral victories for himself. Although he prepared to go to the senate in 1998 under the Abacha transition, he backed out at the last minute citing family pressures. His previous two shots at the presidency, under Babangida and later under Abacha had both earlier ended in frustration.



### **Olusola Saraki**

Not many indigenes of Kwara State, especially those from Ilorin, the capital, dare call Olusola Saraki by his name. They prefer his title, "Oloye" (Chief), as a show of respect and admiration. Saraki has monopolised political leadership of Kwara since 1978 when he won election to the Constituent Assembly. He has remained an unchallenged political leader and spokesman in the area. Saraki is a medical doctor by training. He was educated at the University College, London. But he has since abandoned his stethoscope for the lure of political power.

Elected senator in 1979 on the ticket of the NPN, Saraki became the Senate Majority Leader for four years. He returned to politics when the military gave the green light in 1994, and was elected a member of the National Constitutional Conference which drew up the 1995 draft constitution.



### **Gamaliel Onosode**

The campaign by Gamaliel Onosode, a renowned administrator, financial and public affairs consultant, to contest election for the presidency on the platform of APP was the culmination of a growing political profile which initially came as a big surprise to many of his admirers. Reason: the boardroom had been his forte, and he has been apolitical for

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most of his life until he came under strong pressure to run for the Senate during the Abacha transition. It was expected that this would place him in a strategic position should the post of Prime Minister (under what would clearly be an Abacha Presidency) become available to only elected Senators. Prior to that, the only indication of his interest in public service was his appointment in 1983 by President Shehu Shagari as his adviser on budget affairs and director of budget in 1983.



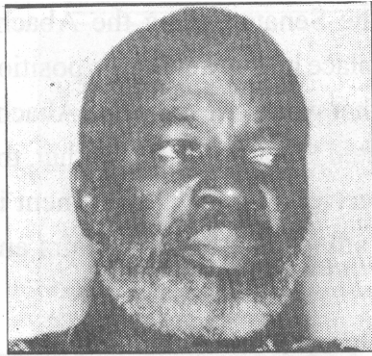
### **Philip Asiodu**

His record of service marks him out as a top-rate technocrat. But he prefers to be described as an administrator and industrialist. For Philip Chikwuedo Asiodu, 65, politics and public service are nothing but an opportunity to make life worth living for all citizens.

He was educated at Queens College, Oxford. He ended up in the class of civil servants Nigerians referred to as "Super Permanent Secretaries" because of the power they wielded in the Gowon administration between 1966 and 1975. He was Petroleum Resource Secretary, and a Minister in the Transitional Council established by Babangida in early 1993 as evidence of his commitment to handing over power. He is a director of many companies.

### **Bode Olajumoke**

Bode Olajumoke, 55, is a former civil servant. Upon finishing his secondary education at Fiditi Grammar School, Fiditi, Oyo State, between 1957 and 1962, he worked briefly with Daily Times of Nigeria and the



Electricity Corporation of Nigeria ECN, before traveling abroad for university education in the Soviet Union and Britain. He holds a doctorate degree in law. Olajumoke worked in the Federal Civil Service and retired from the Ministry of Defence in 1987. He was a member of the Constitutional Conference of 1994 and national chairman of the unregistered United Nigeria Party, UNP. When UNP teamed up with other associations to form the United Nigeria Congress Party, UNCP, Olajumoke became national deputy chairman. He won a senatorial election in 1998 on the platform of the party.

### 3. Peonies Democratic Party



#### **Olusegun Obasanjo**

Olusegun Okikiola Aremu Obasanjo, 62, joined the army at 21 and retired 20 years later in 1979 as a four-star general, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. He has spent 20 years as a farmer in Ota, Ogun State, from where he hails. He is respected for keeping his word by handing over power to civilians on October 1, 1979.

Not loved by his fellow Yoruba who see him as an adversary to the mainstream aspirations of the ethnic group, their allegations and grievances against him are many: the death of Madam Ransome-Kuti during the Kalakuta episode, connivance to deny Obafemi Awolowo the

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presidency in 1979, working against M.K.O. Abiola and his June 12 mandate and advocating the formation of the Interim National Government (ING) which scuttled the June 12 mandate.

The ex-general has denied working against Yoruba interests but his converts were few. It was expected that his incarceration for three years, three months and three days by Abacha would will endear him more to the Yoruba. But instead of joining the Alliance for Democracy AD which enjoyed wide support among his fellow Yoruba, he chose the People's Democratic Party, declaring that he was a "national leader", and not a regional one. Once again, he was at cross-purposes with his people.

Having acquired a reputation as an international statesman in the years between 1979 and 1999, Obasanjo enjoys wide support from within and outside Nigeria, including from members of his own profession, the military.



### **Alex Ekwueme**

He is a former Vice-President. Since he achieved that feat on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1979, his biggest political breakthrough in life, Alex Ifeanyichukwu Ekwueme from Oko, Anambra State has never looked back in politics.

A distinguished architect and town planner, Ekwueme's biggest ambition was to be the next civilian president of Nigeria. If the contest were a matter of academic achievement, he would stand head and shoulders above his fellow contestants, possessing as he does a chain of degrees in history, sociology, philosophy, architecture, law and surveying.

Because of his achievements in the private sector, Ekwueme was seen

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more as a technocrat who ordinarily would have no business with politics. He explained his venture into politics thus:

"I see politics as an opportunity for satisfying my consuming desire for creating anew social order that would, in line with my humanist philosophy, adjust if not redress the existing situation where many live in abject poverty and avoidable deprivation".

When the military struck on December 31, 1983 Ekwueme was detained like many other politicians. He later faced a five-man panel of enquiry and came out unscathed.

In May 1994, he was elected in absentia for the 1994/1.995 National Constitutional Conference, NCC. At the conference, he spearheaded the creation of six geo-political zones in the country as a basis for power sharing.. He chaired the All Politicians summit held in Lagos on December 1.4, 1.995. In April 1.998 Ekwueme led a group of- eminent Nigerians now popularly called G-34 to challenge the self-succession plans of Abacha. The group formed the nucleus of the People's Democratic Party



### **Jim Nwobodo**

Not many Nigerians know about other endeavours of Jim Ifeanyichukwu Nwobodo. His political life has continued to overshadow his other interests since he won election in 1979 as governor of old Anambra State on the platform of the Nigerian People's Party, NPP. But he has been a teacher, a former staff of Shell BP (now Shell Petroleum Development Company) and director of many companies involved in such ventures as insurance, aviation cargo handling and pharmaceutical.

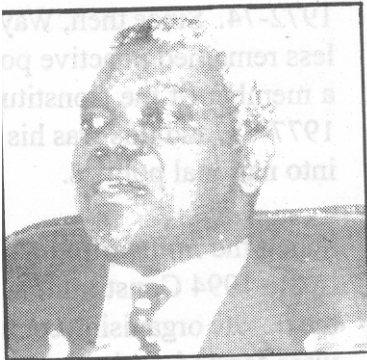
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Nwobodo failed in his bid to be re-elected as Governor in 1983. When the military struck on the 31st of December 1993 Nwobodo lost both power and freedom. He remained in jail till October 10, 1988 when he received a presidential pardon. Abacha appointed him as Minister of Sports, a position he used to rekindle interest in himself as a political force. He thus seemed well-positioned when he was dropped from cabinet in the latter part of the Abacha regime.

He campaigned for Abacha's self-succession and went on record as the man who acted as returning officer for the Grassroots Democratic Movement, GDM, when they held an ad hoc convention in Maiduguri to elect Abacha as their candidate for the presidential election scheduled for 15th August 1998.

Championing Abacha's cause did not help Nwobodo in his ambition of going to senate in 1998 however. The United Nigeria Congress Party, UNCP, which he first joined, rejected him. He crossed-carpet to GDM and was eventually nominated to contest, but was floored by the UNCP candidate, Ken Nnamani.



### **Don Etiebet**

Donatus Obot Etiebet 54, first tasted public office as Secretary for Petroleum Resources in the Interim National Government, ING. Before then, as chief executive officer of Data Sciences Nigeria Limited, a company involved first in computer marketing and later manufacturing of Obodex range of computers, the businessman from Ikot Ekpuk village, Oruk Anam, Akwa Ibom State, was simply a silent billionaire. The marble skyscraper which he built at Ikeja, and called Etiebet's Place says much about his wealth.

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When Abacha sacked the ING in November 1993, Etiebet was re-appointed minister of petroleum resources. He ended up going into full-time politics, establishing his own party, the National Centre Party of Nigeria, NCPN. His openly-declared ambition was to be president of Nigeria on the platform of the party. But he was badly bruised in his search for political power when he was intimidated and humiliated into not only abandoning the presidential ambition but also abandoning the party to join the UNCP which then was widely seen as the party of the government in power. The shock of being forced out of the party he helped to establish trailed him to UNCP where he also lost a highly controversial senatorial election.



### **Joseph Wayas**

Joseph Wayas, 57, administrator, politician and former Senate President first knew the attractions of public office when he was appointed as Commissioner for Transport in then South Eastern State, 1972- 74. Since then, Wayas has more or less remained in active politics. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly, 1977-78, and this was his launching pad into national politics.

When the military returned in December 1983, Wayas went into exile. In the 1994 Constitutional Conference, Wayas was deputy chairman of the debate organizing commission. He later joined the DPN when parties were formed again and won a senatorial election.

### **Tonye Graham-Douglas**

Tonye Alabo Graham-Douglas, 59, is a former aviation minister. He contested for a senate seat last year but was disqualified for reasons which have not been disclosed or explained.



After his education at the University of Lagos, Graham-Douglas worked in many companies in an administrative capacity. A director of many companies, Graham-Douglas has also been; appointed to such positions as Director, J Tourist and Hotel Corporation of Rivers State and Member of the Munish Commission of Enquiry which probed boards and corporations in Rivers State. He served as Commissioner of Youths, Sports and Culture, Rivers State and Minister of Social Development, Youths and Sports in 1989.

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## **CENTRE FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT EDUCATION**

The Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) is a non-profit and non-governmental organisation. It is established to assist in the re-orientation of law enforcement agencies in Nigeria, especially the police and prisons services, with a value system that places highest premium on right to life, security of persons and property, physical and psychological integrity; as well as education civil society on its rights and duties in relation to these agencies. Our mandate is pursued through research and publication, human rights education and community empowerment programmes.

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